

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
USIA-06 IO-13 ACDA-12 AID-05 OMB-01 TRSE-00 HA-05
OES-07 AGRE-00 EB-08 /120 W
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R 201106Z MAR 78 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0315
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
AMEMBASSY CANBERRA
AMEMBASSY COLOMBO
AMEMBASSY DACCA
AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
AMEMBASSY JAKARTA
AMEMBASSY KABUL
AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU
AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC
AMEMBASSY VIENTIANE
AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L NEW DELHI 4350

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PDIP, IN, VN
SUBJECT: MORE FROM MEA ON THE PHAM VAN DONG VISIT

REF: NEW DELHI 3855
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1. NOT SURPRISINGLY, MEA JOINT SECRETARY SHAHABUDDIN TOOK MUCH THE SAME LINE ON THE PHAM VAN DONG VISIT WITH POL COUNSELOR MARCH 18 AS HE REPORTEDLY DID EARLIER WITH THE AUSTRALIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER (REFTEL). SHAHABUDDIN'S PRESENTATION INCLUDED A NUMBER OF ADDITIONAL POINTS AND REFINEMENTS WHICH ARE WORTH MENTIONING.

2. CAMBODIA. SHAHABUDDIN SAID PHAM VAN DONG HAD MADE A CONVINCING CASE IN FAVOR OF THE VIETNAMESE PROPOSAL FOR DEALING WITH THE CAMBODIAN PROBLEM, INCLUDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A DEMILITARIZED ZONE FOLLOWING WITHDRAWAL OF FORCES FIVE KILOMETERS FROM THE BORDER. HE SAID THE VIETNAMESE DID NOT ASK GOI SUPPORT FOR THESE DETAILED PROPOSALS; IF THEY HAD, HE SAID, THEY WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY HAVE GOT IT. ASKED WHAT PHAM VAN DONG SAW AS MOTIVATION FOR CAMBODIAN CONDUCT TOWARD VIETNAM, SHAHABUDDIN REPLIED THAT THE VIETNAMESE SAW IT AS "ALL OF A PIECE" WITH THE WAY THEY BEHAVE TOWARDS THEIR OWN PEOPLE AND TOWARD OTHER NEIGHBORS. THE VIETNAMESE IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS HERE TOLD THE INDIANS THAT THE CAMBODIANS WERE RECEIVING CHINESE MATERIAL SUPPORT. AS HE HAD TOLD HIGH COMMISSION CURTIS, SHAHABUDDIN STRESSED THAT THE VIETNAMESE HAD ADOPTED A PATIENT AND FOREBEARING ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CAMBODIANS TO THEIR DISCUSSIONS HERE. THEY HAD ADDED, HOWEVER, THAT IF THE CAMBODIANS ATTACKED AGAIN, THEY WOULD OF COURSE HAVE TO DEFEND THEIR TERRITORY.

3. THE UNITED STATES. SHAHABUDDIN SAID THE VIETNAMESE HAD TOLD THE INDIANS THEY STILL HOPED THAT THE USG WOULD COME THROUGH WITH THE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROMISED BY PRESIDENT NIXON. THEY DID NOT CARE HOW THAT WAS LABELLED. THERE WAS NO NEED TO TERM IT REPARATIONS; THE TERM "HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE" WOULD DO. IT COULD ALSO COME THROUGH US FUNDING

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OF INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS. THE VIETNAMESE TONE TOWARD THE US WAS MODERATE THROUGHOUT IN BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SESSIONS.

4. INDIAN ASSISTANCE. SHAHABUDDIN PUT A SOMEWHAT LOWER PRICE TAG ON THE INDIAN ECONOMIC PACKAGE THAN HE HAD WITH CURTIS, USING THE FIGURE 80-90 MILLION DOLLARS. HE STRESSED THAT THE BILATERAL AGREEMENTS REACHED WERE STANDARD ONES SIMILAR TO THOSE THE GOI HAS CONCLUDED WITH OTHER COUNTRIES. FOR EXAMPLE, THE AGREEMENT ON COOPERATION IN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY WAS ALMOST WORD FOR WORD A COPY OF THE INDO-AUSTRALIAN AGREEMENT. AGRICULTURE HAD BEEN BROKEN OUT AS A SEPARATE AGREEMENT BECAUSE, IN SHAHABUDDIN'S WORDS, OF "PHAM VAN DONG'S FASCINATION WITH THE ACHIEVEMENTS OF INDIAN AGRICULTURE."

5. ASKED WHY THE INDIANS HAD BEEN SO GENEROUS TO VIETNAM, SHAHABUDDIN NOTED AS HE HAD TO CURTIS THAT THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE GOOD WILL TOWARD VIETNAM IN INDIA AND THAT THIS HAD CUT ACROSS ALL POLITICAL LINES. HE WENT ON TO SAY THAT IT WAS VIETNAM'S INTERNATIONAL ROLE (I.E. ITS LONG FIGHT AGAINST COLONIALISM AND IMPERIALISM) RATHER THAN ITS IMPORTANCE IN THE INDIAN SOUTHEAST ASIAN SCHEME OF THINGS WHICH HAD WON IT

SPECIAL GENEROSITY. THERE WERE OTHER COUNTRIES IN THE AREA MORE IMPORTANT TO THE GOI -- THOSE WITH WHICH IT HAD MARITIME BOUNDARIES AND THOSE WITH LARGE INDIAN POPULATIONS.

6. SHAHABUDDIN REPEATEDLY STRESSED THE MODERATE POSITIONS PUT FORTH BY THE VIETNAMESE VISITORS. THEY HAD TOLD THE INDIANS THAT THEY WISHED TO MAINTAIN CONTINUITY IN THEIR POLICIES AT HOME. CONTINUITY WITH WHAT? WITH VIETNAMESE SOCIAL TRADITIONS. ASKED IF BY SO DOING THEY WERE DEMONSTRATING THEIR DIFFERENCE FROM THE CAMBODIANS, SHAHABUDDIN REPLIED THAT THEY VIETNAMESE WANTED TO SHOW THEIR DIFFERENCE FROM THE CAMBODIANS AND THE CHINESE. GOING FURTHER, HE QUOTED THE VIETNAMESE VICE FOREIGN MINISTER AS TELLING A GOI OFFICIAL THAT THE VIETNAMESE WANTED TO AVOID THE SHARP BREAKS EXPERIENCED IN CONFIDENTIAL

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THE USSR AND CHINA DURING THE REVOLUTIONS THERE.

7. SHAHABUDDIN SAID AGAIN THAT PHAM VAN DONG STRESSED VIETNAM'S NON-ALIGNED ROLE. THE VIETNAMESE IN SHAHABUDDIN'S VIEW, COULD BE CONSIDERED AMONG THE MODERATES IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT, THOUGH THEY DIFFERED ON SOME ISSUES WITH THE INDIANS. HE SAID THAT HE EXPECTED THAT THE VIETNAMESE DELEGATION TO THE KABUL NACC WOULD STOP IN DELHI FOR CONSULTATIONS EN ROUTE.
GOHEEN

NOTE BY OC/T: TELEGRAM DELAYED IN TRANSMISSION.

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NNN

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